UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Things to be Thankful For

By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

Forecasting the Future of Mankind

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

A Pacifist on the Pacific

By SYDNEY STRONG

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 291
Things to Be Thankful For.—ANNA GARLIN SPENCER 292
A Pacifist on the Pacific—Editorial Correspondence.—REV. SYDNEY STRONG 293

ARTICLES—

The Joy of Life. I.—EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD 294
Forecasting the Future of Mankind.—REV. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE 295
The Celebration of the Birth of Walt Whitman.—MORRIS LYCHENHEIM 301
Walt Whitman, the Poet.—TARAKNATH DAS 302
A Prayer.—REV. CHARLES F. DOLE 302

POETRY—

Labor Hymn.—*John Haynes Holmes* 291
The Leaf.—*Clinton Scollard* 294

THE FIELD—

Civil Liberty 303

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIX. THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1922 Number 19

LABOR HYMN.

Almighty God, beneath whose eye
No sparrow falls in vain,
Who giveth free to high and low
The sunshine and the rain,
Amid the darkness of our days
We turn to thee for light,
And to thy will, we make appeal
For Justice and for Right.

Behold, O God, the myriad throngs
Who toil from sun to sun,
The bondmen of the forge and shaft
Whose tasks are never done;
Behold them pile, in sweat and tears,
The wealth of Kingly lands
And then in hours of patient prayer,
To thee lift empty hands.

Their eyes ne'er watch the lonely shore,
Nor rest on pastures green,
The plain and hill, and waters still,
Are all by them unseen;
The wand'ring sunbeams meet them not,
The breezes pass them by,
Fettered in mine and mill and slum,
They hopeless live and die.

For them no poet dreams his dream,
No prophet speaks his word,
The raptured song of saint and seer
Trembles and thrills unheard.
Stunned by the roar of pulsing steel,
Dust-choked and faint of breath,
Despairing, starving, naked, sick,
They hail the boon of death.

Almighty God, behold thy will
Flouted and scorned and shamed;
Behold these children of thy heart
Burdened and robbed and maimed;
Lift high thy sword of love, and smite
The greed of power and place,
And to the least of these restore
The bounties of thy grace.

—*John Haynes Holmes.*

In accordance with the custom of the last few years Unity will be issued bi-monthly during July, August and September. Notwithstanding the absence of Mr. Holmes, in Europe, we have ample assurance of valuable and interesting issues during the summer months. Subscribers are reminded to send in their summer addresses so that they may not miss an issue.

We hope the season of college commencement and all kinds of summer conferences is setting the nation along to a higher level of thinking and doing. The morning papers have carried a huge load of advice more or less provocative of thought. The favorite subject this year is law observance. The law and order forces are on the firing line and the Eighteenth Amendment is not the only territory that needs fortification. Many good people are much in fear of an inundation of lawlessness. What else is it, except this prevailing fear, that makes Secretary Hughes so obstinate against letting our government (which in times past has cheerfully put up with the most disreputable diplomatic companionship, cruel, tyrannical and murderous) be seen on the same side of the street with Russia or Mexico? The fact is that the mysterious name of "Bolshevism" has scared all the money lenders of the world. If this kind of fear is an antitoxin, there is more of it abroad in the world than there is of the original poison. What if we find that a certain anarchist element is itself a normal and necessary antitoxin, set up in the social system to resent and check and thrust out a species of harsh or meddlesome or decayed or absurd law?

In this connection the little tilt between Senator La Follette and our War Secretary is almost amusing. The two men really ought to get together and understand one another. Indeed it is probable that the Senator already understands better what Mr. Weeks is driving at than he is understood by the other. One is reminded of the old story in the Book of Judges about the priest who was stricken with leprosy at having touched the sacred tabernacle. What was the actual sin? Not so much straightening up the ark, but the man's fear that God could not take care of his own ark! We think Mr. La Follette goes rather strong in the wisdom or justice of popular or legislative majorities. But if Mr. Weeks thinks that we can yet safely trust great human interests to our laws and our courts, or imagines that a Supreme Court has any monopoly of infallibility, he must rub out a good deal of the curious history of the development of judicial proceedings and not least of all the very last chapters, fresh with the record of our own American courts and the doings of our National "Department of Justice." The courts are simply hu-

man institutions, not much, if at all, better than we, the people, are. As we all need friendly criticism and a little good-natured raillery on occasion, so do they. Thank God, they are not the best we can do, and *must* do, to fit them to meet human needs.

They often tell us that our government is one of "laws and not men." This sounds well and doubtless carries a truth. We are not sure, however, that we may not mean even more, when we turn the sentence around so as to read "*men* and *not* laws." Laws are only rules, tools, instrumentalities. They are a part of our social machinery. The law and order people play a very useful part in the state, but their danger is, as with the meticulous pedagogue or housewife, that, being trusted with power, they make rules and enforce them rather with a view to their own safety and protection, comfort and quiet, than for the sake of the people of whom they are only a part. They come to detest change even in the method of setting their tables; they are afraid of all kinds of noises, even of the children's play. They care immensely about keeping their things, even more than to get and give the greatest possible use out of their things. After such people have had their own way for a time, and have codified everything thinkable into laws, we cry out for men, and in behalf of men, that is, for the warm touch of humanity. We want presidents and legislators and judges and all who serve us to think and act as men, who care first of all for human life and freedom in which to grow. We want them to set property and things and laws where they belong, as merely ministering to the fulfillment of life. We want ourselves to catch the gleam of the truth that real law is the ever changing manifestation of the infinite spirit of goodness whose fruits every human child is intended to express in manifold forms of beauty and truth.

Things to be Thankful For

The midsummer madness is upon us and there seems sometimes little for which to be grateful. The aftermath of a most horrible war presses upon us the stern facts of human weakness, sin and misery, and what can be found in these for which to give thanks? The efforts to reconstruct the world are fitful, confused and strained by cross-currents of national hatred, suspicion and fear; and often counter-balanced by economic rivalries and racial misunderstandings. And in these things, that so hamper the world desire to come to a common ground of mutual aid and mutual upbuilding of a permanent common welfare, what can be called cause for gratitude?

Yet is there reason for giving thanks.

First, the world war, which burned up so much good, also destroyed for ever one lie, the lie that war can make for peace. Even the most stupid now sees that war only makes easier the next appeal to arms. It is much to have this monstrous lie of the peacemaking quality of organized, wholesale, human slaughter laid in its grave for all time past any resurrection.

In the second place, the world war ended for many, it seems for most serious people, the delusion of what Prof. James called the "mysticism of militarism." There are those, and many in high places of intellectual and moral leadership, who can still so divorce what a soldier may be called upon to suffer from what he is bade to do that the satisfaction of belief in his sacred calling can still work to prevent any clear idea of his actual business in war blurring his sacrifice for patriotism. During the late war, especially after our government entered it, we heard many discourses in the old spirit, the spirit of those who see the soldier only as one willing to die for his country. But more and more the idea penetrates the common mind that he is also called upon to kill for his country and that the psychologic aim of all his training for the field of battle is in the line of learning how to kill the most people in the shortest possible time and with the least possible harm or danger to himself. The medals for "bravery in action," one of which given to a young soldier from a Southern State and which ranks him very high in heroism, stress the fact that it is killing, not being killed, that is the aim. This young man was called by at least one great newspaper "the supreme hero of our troops in the Great War, for he killed more Germans in one hand-to-hand engagement than any other man recorded." This may be and is defended still as a supreme duty and one for which a man may well be applauded, that he has destroyed at one fell swoop many of the enemies of his country. But the common mind is open now as never apparently before to the fact that it is not what one suffers but what one makes his enemies suffer that is the high water mark of brave and successful soldiering. And when the emphasis is placed on what one does to others rather than what one suffers from others there is a moral recoil; and the more the person has been trained in conserving and helping life the more difficult it is to make the killing of others seem quite right. It is this new thing in war psychology which has given us so many nervously affected young men as they return from the war which summoned them to active service. It is true that modern inventive genius, turned from saving to destroying life, has given more nerve-racking methods of warfare than any previous struggle knew, and that the shellshocked and gassed victims have had physical causes for nervous breakdown and insanity; but it is still more true that the moral dislocation between the aims and ideals of mod-

ern social life and the work of the battle field has made them hopelessly at odds with life. And they recognize it for what it is, these brave young men who felt that if any one had to go to fight they should bear their part in a hard duty. They know it is because the work of war is out of drawing with every moral instinct and tendency of their normal lives—that it leaves them invalids. One such a hopeless sufferer from wracked nerves that give him no relief has thus explained it: "You see I had to kill a German, a man I had never seen before and couldn't hate, at close range within the trench and had to lie beside him while he slowly died and it got on my nerves. And I can't forget it. Of course if there had been others with us and we had been running against each other it would have been different. But to kill like that and watch the man die, it got me sure."

There is waking on all sides just such a true picture of what we mean when we send young men to fight; what we mean they shall do and what it may mean to them to do it. This is a cause for thankfulness that the mask is so far torn from the god of war that he shows for what he really is.

There is a third cause for thankfulness and that is the new way in which poetry and art treat the facts of war. It may not mean to all what to some of us it does mean that the poets and novelists and the sculptors and painters strike so many of them, a quite new note. It is not alone the glory, often not at all the glory, of war, but its horror that now speaks in art. It may be a passing phase but there are reasons why it does not seem such to some of us. The fact is that war has lost much of its pageantry and its horrible beauty of action and form by the substitution of chemistry for feats of arms and of poison and long-range guns for the group encounter. That encounter if on the open field, with group against group in plain sight, carried with it a stimulus of excitement and a sense of being lifted out of self which left a different sensation in the soldier's mind after the fight was over. Now the whole leaden drag of the trench and the hand-to-hand encounter within it, and the range of killing beyond the vision, and the poison treachery of attack, all dull the sense of achievement of something heroic and make so many feel with one truth-telling soldier boy "Say what you please war is plain killing and if they can't find some other way to settle things the game isn't worth the candle."

These things then at least we may be grateful for; these new reactions to war. There are others that rise on my horizon but of these only I would speak at this time.

To see things as they are is the first step toward revolt against them if they are wrong or unwise. And war today is seen more truly for what it is than at any time since human beings first tried to make might right and thought that in battle the victor proved that he was the best as well as the strongest man.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

A Pacifist on the Pacific

Editorial Correspondence.

I took luncheon yesterday with Joseph B. Howie. He is a friend and naturally we spent some time in discussing war and peace. He told me about the enterprise that he, with others, is engaging in. It is the ambitious scheme of getting a referendum among all the nations of earth—the nations in heaven have already decided the matter—on the subject of entire disarmament. It is to work on the principle of, "I'll do it, if they will."

I remember that is what the barber said to me, in a Nebraska town, when I was a young pastor, and I asked him to "close on Sunday." He replied, "I'll do it, if they will."

Mr. Howie and his friends are expecting to write to 1,000 persons scattered over the world, laying the proposition before them; to see if a movement can not be engineered for a universal referendum, each nation agreeing—if so voting—to "do it, if they (the others) will." This is certainly a laudable project. There is no knowing where an idea—like lightning—will strike. Some society—like the Federal Council, or the Carnegie Peace Foundation; or may be the League of Nations; or some special World Congress; or some nation, may undertake the initiation of such a plan. Mr. Howie had a long list of correspondents, and I had the pleasure of adding some names to his list.

Tonight I promise myself the pleasure of going to the first of two lectures by Mr. Howie on "Does War End War?"—the address being based on Norman Angell's "The Fruits of Victory."

You will be interested in an address given last night at the annual meeting by the president of the Chamber of Manufacturers. The spirit manifested was commendable and was a rational argument, from the employer's point of view, of industrial unrest, taxation, government extravagance and the growth of bureaucracy. This Chamber is the leading commercial body of the city. Mr. Martyn, the president, calmly and rationally discussed three rights of the employed (1) A high standard of living, (2) good wages to maintain same, (3) a voice in the control of industry. While he maintained the capitalist view that a high standard of living could be best maintained by the workers taking the matter in their own hands through means of efficiency, economy and industry, yet affirmed that it was the general consensus of opinion among employers that a high standard of living should obtain in Australia. As to a voice in industry, he thought the workers should have a voice and hand as fast as they displayed adequate ability. However the claim to socialize all industries at once was a "pretentious claim." In this, workers would "upset all rational evolution." To hear a Chamber

president proclaiming the gospel of "rational evolution" was refreshing, when I bring to mind employers who refuse to confer with their employes. Mr. Martyn said that his experience—running over many years—was not favorable to arbitration courts, for they "magnified the differences between employers and employed"; and since the "interests of both stood so closely related, any interference from the outside should be quite unnecessary, and all difficulties should be settled by conferences between themselves."

One point in his speech will be of special interest to UNITY readers. He said he had "observed with satisfaction that the Prime Minister was applying the pruning knife very liberally in connection with the Defence (War) Department and trusted that it was an earnest of what would be done in other departments." He admitted, in speaking of bureaucracy, that many of the civil servants were "splendid men; but there was a vast army" that he thought "could be better employed in production," for it was a "well known fact that the more they multiply civil servants, the less satisfactory the government administration was likely to be." It is refreshing to hear the president of a big Chamber of Manufacturers strongly favoring cutting down the expenses of the War Department.

Last Saturday night I went to the Fellowship, headed by Mr. Sinclaire, to hear Miss Lee—an English Unitarian minister, who is in Melbourne several months — give her impressions of America, which she visited and investigated from east to west. On the whole it was a delightful and accurate interpretation of American life. She was impressed by the number of tablets to Paul Revere, by the Women's Clubs, by the box-luncheons, by Hampton Institute, by the "White City," meaning Washington, by the social indignities heaped upon Negroes. Her address was cleverly illustrated by half a dozen young women singing negro melodies like "I'se going back to Dixie," "Massa's in the cold, cold ground," "Nobody knows the troubles I knows," "One more river to cross." Sympathetic interpretations are good peacemakers, Miss Lee said, that in her family archives, there was a letter written in 1816 by one of her ancestors, from America, in which the ancestor, a merchant, stated that America would never be able to compete with England in manufacturing; now, she said, "over 50 percent of the people of America live in cities."

Melbourne, May 16. SYDNEY STRONG.

The Joy of Life

I.

I leaned back in my chair and watched the sun sink in the West with that radiance of beauty which thrills the soul of the artist—a perfect finish to a perfect day. Yet what impressions had that day left on my mind? There was the consciousness of the individual burdens which were being borne by my friends—the struggles, the injustices, the heartaches; those tragedies that enter into every human life. Then there were the social problems. These too I had felt, and their weight had depressed me—the famine in Russia, the militarism of France, the despair of Germany. And last, but perhaps greatest, the international perplexities. How often had I pondered upon them, and this day had brought to my desk more literature to feed those reflections. Are national barriers handicaps to human development? Are all men brothers, and if so who lawfully inherits the favored sections on this panet? Is it any wonder that the seeds of information often flower in pessimism? How in such an entanglement of social perplexities can one find enjoyment and peace of mind? Yet the sun, as I watched it descend over the western horizon, spoke of a world of beauty, a world of peace and tranquility.

Long I sat in my chair and reflected. Somewhere above the strife and turmoil, above these problems which we find so difficult of solution, somewhere in the cosmic whole there must be unity, I thought, and in that unity the grandeur of a setting sun. I am seeing but a part. I am playing the role of the scientist who spends his days hovering over his test tubes while beyond the walls of his laboratory all nature is smiling. In contributing my part I have failed to realize that it is but a part, and that only in the whole is the joy of life to be found. The brilliancy of those sunset hues are but reflections from that universal all. Only by bringing myself into harmony with the total process can I find the complete life; the beauty, peace and contentment of which nature spoke in that sunset scene.

A smile came to my lips, and rest to my mind. The world is beautiful if seen as a whole. I must not tear the flower in pieces. In a single petal or stamen there is little to admire, but when each is in its place, and the complete flower blooms before you —there is unity, there is beauty. The activities of man are but a part, a contributing factor to the total cosmic order. In themselves they seem void of excellence, but when viewed in conjunction with the whole, their beauty becomes apparent. I will keep on contributing my role, I will voice clearly my lines, but I will also remember that the whole is greater than any of its parts, that only in the completed drama can I find unity, that only in the universal all the beauty of a sunset. EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

THE LEAF

Know you of aught more lovely than the leaf
When it escapes the bud,—the virginal green
Catching the sunlight, taking to itself
A delicate shimmer from the sun's warm gold?
Its softest touch reserves for it the wind;
Its warmest raindrop sends the kindly cloud;
Thus is it gently nurtured by the spring.
Years come and go, and still the mothering
As on the first exultant burgeoning-tide,
Mysterious, full of sweetnesses, and all
The old earth's elemental loveliness.

As beauteously let thou some leaf have birth
Within the soul,—some vernal shoot of love,
Of faith, of pity, or fair charity!

—*Clinton Scollard.*

Forecasting the Future of Mankind*

Owing to the world war, and what has followed after it, there is at the present time great unrest throughout the world, and a fear that civilization is in danger of collapse, an almost desperate dread that it will be impossible for mankind to recover what it has lost in the great conflict. The fear that the world is ruined, that much of what was good in humanity has been jeopardized, has taken possession of many minds. It may not be undesirable, therefore, to consider the causes which have led to human progress in the past, why these causes may not be fully operative at the present time, and how we may regain what the war has partially or wholly destroyed.

In view of the doubts, sometimes bordering on despair, which beset many minds, it may be in some degree desirable to recognize the fact that at various periods in the past civilization has been nearer destruction than it is at present. Such periods, it may be suggested, have been the Persian invasion of Greece, the barbarian attacks on Rome, the Mohammedan and Turkish invasions of Europe, the Crusades, the plague of Black Death that devastated Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the thirty years' war, resulting in the collapse of wide regions in central Europe.

A lack of historical perspective causes us to think that the world was never in such a calamitous condition as at the present time. Undoubtedly the periods named showed a much more limited area of destruction than we have been witnessing in the last few years, and that a much smaller number of persons were involved; but in these earlier centuries it is to be recognized that civilization was far more limited in its range of development than at the present time. It had then no large resources beyond the region involved and the conditions then immediately present. When the higher civilization was limited to Greece, a territory hardly larger than an American state, if that country had gone down into barbarism, it would have required a prolonged period for the recovery of what had been there gained for human progress. When the Turks were beating with terrible force against the walls which protected central Europe the civilization of that continent was in the most imminent danger.

At the present time, on the contrary, the higher stages of human progress have advanced far beyond Europe, and have become world-wide rather than confined to some one limited region. The new methods of communication and transportation have bound the whole world together as if it were one country with common interests. What brings collapse and destruction to one country has its effect upon all others. And yet, what preserves civilization on one continent makes it possible for another to speedily recover, and for the whole world to go forward again with the least possible retardation. Even if Europe should go down into darkness (which is not possible in view of the world-resources), the spread of civilization to America, Asia, Africa and the islands, will make it possible for it to go on, and to recover in time what has been lost, profiting greatly, it may be hoped, by what has caused the collapse produced by the great war. It is true that a European failure, and to the full extent of that failure, will effect the world to its remotest corners. It will not be possible, however, for the downfall of that continent to do more than retard the march of progress for a brief period, in comparison with that of the era of the development of civilization from the beginning. Indeed, the recovery of Europe may be brought about in a period not remote, and especially if the rest of the world gives friendly aid to the recovery. Dark as the prospect may be at present, and black as are the suggestions of those who have studied the situation at first hand, nearly all observers prognosticate recovery, if certain measures of resuscitation can be promptly applied. Most of them assume, however, that what is needed is a return to the conditions which existed before the war, a recovery of the same economic and financial situation which brought on the war in the beginning. Evidently, something quite different is demanded in order to insure a continuation of the progress that will in the future become enduring.

We ought also to recognize the fact that certain steps leading to progress can be taken only under what may be regarded as revolutionary conditions, that is, by means of new ideas and new processes. We may rightly query if advances of some kinds can be made under any other conditions than those where there is a breakdown of the usual social and political forces by the operation of which the great war was brought on. History presents ample evidence that repeatedly the people have sought for changes most desirable for their welfare and for progress; and that all their attempts have been ruthlessly crushed by autocratic power, with the use of military force. All Europe, in 1847 and 1848, was crying out for democracy, for the inauguration of republican governments; but everywhere military power was used to defeat these popular demands.

The failure of the military power in central and eastern Europe at the end of the great war has led to the establishment of republics in Germany, Austria, Russia, and in several other countries. In these countries the suffrage has been extended, not only to all men, but to women as well. We cannot assume that a republic is necessarily better than a monarchy; but when it represents a popular demand it has merits no monarchy can procure for the people generally. What has been secured in Europe by the failure of military power on the part of the central nations might have been brought about by peaceful measures in the course of time; but when we consider the nature of autocratic power when it is upheld by military force, we may be sure that only by means of radical changes could democratic governments have come into existence, and the wishes of the people have adequate recognition. Have we so far forgotten our own national history, that we have failed to recognize that the United States began in a revolution which was prolonged through a period of eight years?

I. Causes That Make For Human Progress.

In an attempt to forecast the future of mankind we need to consider the causes which have led to human progress in the past. Heredity is often as-

*Sermon preached in Steinert Hall, February 26, 1922, before the Boston Community Church.

sumed to be one of these causes, that the gains made by individuals in the way of a higher education, a more vigorous activity, results of wider experience, are passed on to offspring, and are conserved for the race. The more recent investigations make this conception of the nature of heredity of doubtful validity. Transmission of hereditary qualities is racial rather than individual; and acquired characters, or results of individual experience, are declared by most biologists not to be hereditary. Congenital or physical heredity is effective only after long periods, and when there is a group or class movement in the same direction. If heredity and education work in the same direction, combine their processes, progress is made.

The earliest men known to us were half-ape and half-man in their nature, with retreating chins, and of such a character that they were probably not able to talk. The successive stages of man's biological advance have been traced out, showing imperfectly, it is true, how he advanced to speech-capacity, use of hands, invention of weapons and tools, acquisition of the arts, domestication of animals, invention of writing and printing, and a slow and painful growth in those industrial, intellectual and spiritual developments which make up our modern civilization. What has entered deeply into the life of the race, even if only in one tribe or nation, has been slowly passed on hereditarily; and through long-continued processes has become a part of the transmitted qualities of humanity.

Other processes have also been at work, and these include the passing on from one generation to another of the results of invention, skill of hands in industries, mastery of the forces of nature, social customs which have enabled groups to make use of team work, the gradual advance in morals and government. By the process of nurture or education, which trains the young to the skill and knowledge of the old, this means of progress has been made more and more effective. This process of social transmission of the results of experience and knowledge, has been sometimes described as tradition, and sometimes as "social heredity." It is often confounded with congenital or biological heredity; but it is, in fact, of quite a different nature. This form of heredity is the result of the social transmission of what any generation knows to its successor by means of training and education.

Progress has been secured by slow advances, often described as the old stone, new stone, bronze, and iron ages, which have been succeeded by those of steam and electricity. Since the utilization of steam a greater advance has been made than in all the preceding ages. Again, progress has been through the stages of savagery, barbarism, civilization, to enlightenment. The earlier stages of progress have been secured very slowly through vast periods of time, so that it has taken at least a half-million years to gain such advance as mankind has now made. There have been periods of steady evolution, which have been succeeded by those of degeneration and retardation. Great civilizations, like those of Babylonia, Egypt, and Rome have passed away; and they have been succeeded on the same territory by periods of barbarism. On the whole, however, mankind has been advancing, with many a set-back, many a failure and by a very slow climb upward. When we look at the whole of the history of mankind we find that in the ancient world in the early civilizations, men looked backward to a golden age, to a paradise long since passed away. One sign of progress is that in the modern world men look forward to a progressive advance in the future. Today we see the golden age is before us and not behind. We look forward and not backward. We have come to believe in progress; and therein is a great hope.

Individual genius is often regarded as the chief cause of human progress. What advance is made is assumed to be secured because some men have a far greater capacity than that which belongs to the great majority of mankind. Such men have great initiatory capacities, can think far ahead of other men, discover what has been hitherto unknown, and give to mankind opportunities for a rapid advance because of their intuitions, their powerful insights, their superior reasoning powers, and their ability to grasp the deeper meanings of the discoveries of their predecessors, and to bring these to higher issues than had been known hitherto. Genius comes from the heightened qualities given by heredity, and the man of great initiative profits by the labors of his predecessors, carries forward a little farther what the race has evolved in its ages of progress. It is certain that we cannot dispense with the man of genius, that we owe much to him, that he has been one of the abiding causes of whatever progress mankind has made in the past. And yet his influence may be, and has been, greatly exaggerated. There is no sufficient evidence that the "superman," the man above other men in nature and supreme capacities, has ever existed. Progress is often racial rather than individual in its operating forces, and is result of the activities of many men, rather than the work of one or more individuals.

II. Industrial and Economic Forecasts of the Future.

During the half-million years of man's occupation of the earth he has been engaged in the mastering of nature, and in learning how to use its materials and its forces. The first steps towards civilization may have been taken 50,000 years ago. The domestication of animals and the cultivation of the soil may have begun 20,000 years in the past. Before that for the half-million years man depended on the bounties of nature, and on hunting and fishing. Speech, clothing, shelter other than in caves, were slowly acquired.

The domestic arts, such as pottery, weaving, and the making of clothing, may have begun 15,000 years ago. Writing, the use of the alphabet, recording of events, do not go back much, if any, beyond 10,000 years. Printing was not invented more than about 500 years ago; railroads, steamships and the telegraph about 100, while the telephone, automobile, and airship are of yesterday. Such are some indications of the slow processes by which man has acquired what to us seem to be the indispensable requisites of a satisfactory life.

In the last two hundred years invention has advanced with an astounding rapidity. Methods of communication and transportation have progressed with a marvellous growth. As a result the peoples of the earth have been brought into closer relations with each other than in the past, though we cannot assume that there has been any definite change in the brain and mind of man during the last 50,000 years. The great century of Greek poetry, art, and philosophy has not

been surpassed by means of any of these material gains. Nor has it been equalled in these respects in any century since.

The age of invention, in which we are living, has resulted, however, in a vast expansion of manufacturing commerce, financial growth, imperialism and business enterprise. The conquest of the earth in these directions has gone on with a truly marvellous rapidity. Because of these characteristics, this age is sometimes called the industrial age, and sometimes that of capitalism. Three qualities stand out predominantly: great-scale manufacturing, tremendous gain in the power of money, and imperialism as the product of the vast extension of commerce.

If in this age man has not grown more intellectual, ethical and esthetic, his control of nature has gone forward by leaps and bounds. We must recognize, however, that, on the whole it has not been in all respects a wise control; but largely one of waste, reckless use of natural resources which cannot be replaced, enormous increase in the power of money, and a domination of the lesser peoples by those more advanced in size and power.

We should not forget that in this age, whatever its defects, that the means of communication have advanced as rapidly as those of manufacturing, commerce, and capitalism. Education has greatly expanded, newspapers multiplied vastly in number and influence, books and libraries grown extensively, science come into existence as a great power, while knowledge, history, nature, and mind have increased in their influence.

On the basis of these facts we may guess at some changes which will come in the future. We cannot devise utopias, or lay down a definite scheme of social progress for the future, basing our anticipations on our knowledge of what has happened in the past. As our knowledge of the past is by no means extensive or intimate, and as fresh processes and inventions of all kinds are coming into existence constantly, our forecastings can be no more than suggestions,—provisional and anticipatory.

Astronomers assure us that our earth will go on much as at present for 3,000,000 years. That period is sufficient in which we may work out all our problems. It may not be idle, therefore, to try to anticipate what may in some few directions, take place in the earlier years of that vast period in the earth's history. Such a period, we may recognize, is a practical eternity; and in it much, very much, may happen. Since the earth and man have undergone great changes in the past half-million years, we cannot doubt that 3,000,000 years will bring to pass what will shame all our utopias, however sanguine and unreasonable they may seem to have been.

We may anticipate that war will gradually cease. The enormous advance in the capacity for destruction which has been recently developed, in the form of poison gas, tanks, submarines, airships, and other similar methods will in time compel nations to abandon war lest all mankind may be destroyed. When the population of a great city can be killed in a few minutes, as the chemists assure us is now possible, war will become wholly undesirable. No nation will dare to enter upon a war that may lead to its own extinction.

War under these conditions does not develop courage or heroism, physical vigor or mental alertness. All its old merits and advantages in the cultivation of individual initiative and vigor have ceased to be operative. The glamor of war may remain for youth; but the fact of war has wholly lost its qualities of chivalry and manly incentive. It is now a matter of trenches, airships, and chemical ingenuity and destructiveness. It is no longer fighting hand to hand; but with unseen foes, whose stroke cannot be anticipated, and whose blow is from far away, and not to be foreseen where it will strike. The destructive power of war has become so vast that no nation will be free to enter upon its enterprises.

In the course of the centuries we may anticipate that the nations will combine for their common welfare, in some form of league, conference, federation or other method of settling the differences which may arise between them. It may be impossible to say what method of reconciliation will be finally accepted; but it will doubtless secure arbitration, co-operation, and a universal fellowship of peoples in some kind of effective federation. How soon such an international combination or federation will be secured it is impossible to say; but that it will be wrought out in the not remote future we may be quite certain.

Commercial antagonisms, the chief of the causes of war, will also, we map hope, come to an end. Some form of mutual concessions, co-operation between nations, and freedom of trade, will in time be established. It may come to be recognized that each country should produce what is best adapted to its conditions and its capacities; and that it should freely exchange such products with those peoples who are less favorably situated for their production, on account of climate, soil, labor, and other causes. The United States, in its free exchange of products throughout its length and breadth, between all its States, may become a model for the whole world. Mutual dependence of nation on nation, one people on all other peoples, may be regarded as essential to the higher civilization of the future.

Probably in the not far distant future we will come to see the folly of a periodical breakdown of business, a financial collapse, the disruption of all industrial and economic interests, with wide-spread distress and unemployment, and its accompanying poverty, hunger for many workingmen and their families. In time we shall seek for a scientific remedy for these conditions, when we come to recognize that they result from causes which are preventable. Then we shall find a method that will be effective as prevention and cure.

May we not also anticipate that as war ceases, and commercial antagonisms give way to co-operation and freedom of trade, that the antagonisms of employer and employee, capital and labor, will be modernized, and in time abolished? This kind of war, for such it is, out of which all other wars now proceed, is in no way desirable for the good of the people generally. This kind of warfare hinders civilization, retards it in many directions, creates a dependent and devitalized class, helps to produce crime, and is one of the causes of degeneration and feeble-mindedness.

There are two ways in which this conflict can be brought to an end: (a) By the establishment of an industrial democracy—the control of industries by the workers themselves. This we may regard as having become essential in order that political democracy may not fail in its control by financial interests and imperialism. To secure this result democracy should

broaden from its political forms to include industrial democracy, the right of all the people to control those interests which make for their common welfare as human beings. The worker should have a right to determine the conditions of his labor; at least, to fully share in controlling its output, its methods, and its conditions, that his interests as a human being may have full recognition.

(b) The adoption of co-operative buying, as well as maufacturing, on the part of the workers—a method which has proved to be very successful in most European countries. This is no utopian experiment, no mere dream of the reformer; but a highly successful method for securing to the workers of the world "as nearly as possible the full product of their labors," to use Lincoln's phrase, and the fullest possible result of their purchasing power.

We may anticipate that the great essentials of life, on which all the people are dependent, will be socialized in the future—such as land, coal, oil, mines, forests, and metals. This may be done in order that they may not be recklessly wasted, and that all alike may share in what is necessary to the life of all. There should be here no monopolies, no control for individual advantage; but that these essentials should be secured at the smallest possible expenditure of effort in their production and distribution.

Poverty ought to be wholly eliminated as unnecessary, and as a disgrace to mankind. In the midst of superabundant plenty no one ought to be burdened with this limitation. Those persons not able from physical or mental defect to care for themselves ought to be provided for according to their need; but it ought to be possible that all others shall secure a requisite result of labor to enable them to live in comfort. Luxury is unnecessary, and when it is checked there will be enough for all persons to meet their actual needs. Famine, too, is an evil which may be, and ought to be, overcome. Failure of harvests may not be prevented; but where adequate methods of transportation exist none need starve.

Disease will be gradually brought under control by methods of prevention, the results already achieved making it certain that in large degree its elimination will be ultimately secured. Illness may not be wholly prevented; but it can be largely brought under control, so that it will not be such a drag on humanity as it is at present.

As the population of the earth increases, the problem of the food supply will become an urgent one. Organic processes on the part of vegetation transform the chemical elements into foods for animals and man; and the chemists will in time, we may assume, learn how to imitate nature, and to produce foods directly from the elements. Such has been their success already, that this assumption as to what they may accomplish in the future is by no means a wild one.

The problem of population on a small planet, such as ours, will become more and more important. It must be met by birth-control, by a rigid application of the methods of eugenics, and by the elimination of waste and senseless luxury. We cannot think that in the future a president of the United States will write a woman praising her as the mother of sixteen children or that another president will assert that the only duty of women is to bear children.

III. Man's Intellectual Growth in the Future.

Can we anticipate that man will develop larger brains in the future? Will the human mind become more effective? Will supermen be born, such as Nietzsche assumed will appear in the future?

In view of the fact that in the past the brain has developed, and the mind grown with it, although very slowly, it may be assumed that this process will continue in the future. Anthropologists, however, in view of all the knowledge they possess, do not anticipate any great enlargement of the brain or that superman will appear. So far as we can now see the men of 50,000 years ago were as brainy as the men of today. The men who took the first steps towards civilization appear to have had as capable minds as those of any persons now living.

What we are probably justified in anticipating is, not that the individual mind will increase in power, but that men in co-operating with each other, in their group relations, their social or associate activities, will become more capable. The body of knowledge, the sum-total of human wisdom, will have become greater. Science will increase greatly in its mastery over nature, and the processes of discovery and invention will go on producing more effective results than any we have hitherto known. It is true that the automobile and the cinema have hitherto done little more than to increase our pleasure, luxury, waste of time, dissipation of energies, reckless push and rush, without increasing power and efficiency to the same degree. We may hope that this will not be always true, for we know that these inventions are capable of greatly facilitating human effort and the processes of education. If the cinema now chiefly ministers to cheap and tawdry pleasures, we know it can be made a great educational agent.

There has accumulated, and there is accumulating, a great body of human knowledge, stored in the minds of successive generations, in the form of traditions, monuments, historic records, books, libraries, laws, arts, sciences on which all men can draw, and which can be utilized more and more effectively for human benefit. It is this social accumulation, this social process, this social utilization of experience and wisdom, which is the real superman we are to anticipate. All discoveries and inventions must draw upon this accumulated store in order to increase its capacities by their additions to it. It is by the increase of such knowledge that man grows in wisdom and power. The man of today must in this sense stand on the shoulders of the man of yesterday, take from him his training for the work of the present hour. Even such a man as Darwin began on the basis of the knowledge accumulated by his predecessors; and his successors are in many directions correcting and enlarging the results of his investigations.

There are three methods by which new ideas, discoveries and inventions are produced. It is desirable to recognize them all, for we are too much in the habit of depending on the fortuitous coming of great men to help the world forward to broader conceptions of one kind or another. In all times of crisis we are inclined to say that God will raise up for us the man we need to meet the demands of the hour. Again, we assert with great conviction our need of a man of genius, a born leader, a man for the new occasion. Such men do not appear because we wish for them or because we demand that such an one

shall come to our aid in a period of depression and revolution. The old saying that great men are born, not made, holds good not merely of poets, but also of statesmen and civil leaders of all kinds. When the great man comes among us we do not always know him, and perhaps only after his death, and it may be his martyrdom, do we discover what he has been when he was among us. We crave his presence, and then we reject him, perhaps with scorn, because he has not given us what we demanded.

We are undoubtedly led forward by men of genius, that is, men of individual initiative. In many respects these men may be no greater than their fellows, and they may have most serious defects and limitations. Genius seems to be of the nature of a mutation, that is, a sudden appearance of a new type or plant or animal, which continues, perhaps, through succeeding generations as a new variety or species. The genius sets new forces, fresh ideas, in operation, turns men's thoughts into new channels and activities. A mutation, according to the botanist or zoologist, is product of long-extended silent and hidden causes, suddenly culminating in a fresh type of organism. So it is that genius is product of age-long forces developing in the life of the race, producing large results for the individual life as embodied in him.

New steps of progress are also made by men of talent, who work on the basis of the past achievements of the race, simply applying or extending them. Most steps of progress are made by such men under conditions of this kind. All men and women, except defectives, are capable of thus extending the methods and processes of their own work. If they are given freedom of action, encouragement to proceed according to their own incentives, they will produce fresh ideas and inventions of great value. This is, however, rather a special process, than one of great mental expression of individual power.

The ideas, discoveries, and inventions of men of genius and talent, must be adopted by men generally, come to have a wide social acceptance, in order that they may become effective. No invention and no discovery, however great; and no idea, however original, can be effective until it wins social approval, and is adopted into the activities and thoughts of the public generally. The idea, the scientific theory, the philosophy, which does not win acceptance fails; and it is regarded as the mere aberration of an individual mind or a piece of human folly. The winning of acceptance often means a long struggle; and the attempt to secure it sometimes leads to martyrdom. In more than one instance it has been only after many generations that success is finally won, perhaps long after the genius has gone to his grave. The socialization of ideas is a process of the utmost importance. Until it is secured the thinker is pronounced a radical or other dangerous enemy of what is established.

We may anticipate that in the future the stores of accumulated experience and wisdom will be freely open for the benefit of all children and adults in the process of education. Hence we may assume that there will come about certain important changes in the educational process. The range of subjects will be broadened, the method pursued will be more natural and more modern, and training will conduce more effectively to prepare the young for the genuine processes of life. Education will be less linguistic and mathematical than scientific, and will give a more comprehensive insight into the processes by which man has come to be what he is; and how he can progress in the future. It will open up all lines of knowledge and inquiry for the adult, keeping his mind open and progressive to the end of his career.

We may also anticipate that all children up to the age of 18 will be trained for life, that they may be able to meet its conditions and its demands intelligently. It is now reported that 10,000,000 children in this country, of school age, are engaged in some kind of employment, sometimes little less than compulsory in its nature. They are growing up stunted in body and mind, ignorant, without mastery of a trade or profession of any kind, and unprepared for any of the higher purposes of life. These children should be in school in order that our American theory of the universalization of education may be truly realized. They should be in school until they are prepared to care for themselves intelligently, and to serve their kind to some definite purpose. They should be fitted for such life-work as they can best undertake. The money now spent for war purposes would be amply sufficient for this educational work. No child, whatever its parentage, should be permitted to grow up in ignorance or without real knowledge of himself, and mastery of the world in ability to provide for his own needs, if he is mentally and physically capable of so doing. If he is deficient in these respects he should be cared for in such manner as will most conduce to his own happiness and the welfare of the community. If so cared for he should not be permitted to burden future generations with his defects. In a word, education should be truly universal, and of such nature as to enable the individual to enter most successfully into the life of his time.

It is most desirable that educational facilities, in the way of schools, lectures, libraries, museums, and art galleries, shall be constantly within reach of all the people, that the educational process shall go on throughout life. This means that every public school shall become a school where every new discovery, invention, theory, and step in human progress, shall be brought within reach of all who wish to take advantage of them for the acquisition of knowledge and experience.

All persons of every calling, women as well as men, should be in every way encouraged to add to the inventions, craft products, arts, scientific discoveries, and philosophical ideas of mankind. The incentives to such initiative processes ought to be accorded to all persons, and encouragement should be given to all to seek for such additions to the human mastery of nature and the stores of human wisdom. This will be one of the inevitable results of the genuine universalization of the processes of education for young and old alike. Under the operation of this process there will not be many, and perhaps no, supermen; but a great number of men and women will add to the discoveries and inventions, the wisdom and art capacities, of mankind.

Under such conditions women will more and more have an influence on all that causes social and individual welfare. They are likely to use their influence effectively against war, disease, poverty, vice and crime. We may expect them to favor economic justice —the house-keeping of the state. Probably, too, they will favor the application of eugenic methods to the

relations of the sexes, requiring that there shall be one ethical rule for men as for women.

In the place of war, and to educate the young in initiative, courage, vigor of body and mind, all youth may be organized, both boys and girls alike, both young men and young women, that they may acquire the habit and incentive of service rather than of egoism, pushing for personal success, and untoward competition with others. The Boy Scouts, and the Young People's movement in Germany, will give hints in this direction. There may be assigned to them music, parades, doing the dirty work of their communities, and entering into all sorts of community service. In this way they will find a substitute for the stir and enthusiasms of war, its glory in fellowship and patriotic motive. In this way, too, there will be developed what will take the place of war for the young, and something which will answer to the youthful need for courage, enthusiasm, and following the flag wherever it may lead. In this manner will be inculcated, in place of hatred and prejudice, the spirit of altruism, and of effective devotion to the good of fellowmen.

As a higher, and the highest, outcome of a genuine education, there will be developed the spirit and motives inculcated by science. We know that science leads to free inquiry, systematic investigation, experimentation, search for facts and laws, and the demand that the truth only shall be the final test of what is excellent. To science we owe the modern developments in knowledge and the advances in human progress.

This spirit and method of science should be applied in securing social, economic, industrial and political progress. Initiative and referendum, proportional representation, recall, profit-sharing, and other democratic methods, are being tried out by experience. In Russia communism is being tested. Single tax, Socialism, national ownership of railroads, mines and forests, may yet have their trial. All these suggested reforms, fresh methods for securing a greater working success for democracy, should be tried, in order to see what will be their results. Mere assertion that they will not work means nothing until they have been brought into actual practice, so far as that is possible. Because they do not agree with what has been hitherto accepted is by no means a test of their practical value. Science investigates and experiments in every possible direction, and by means of every method which can be suggested; and only the same procedure can bring into active operation any fresh devices for the extension of democracy and the advancement of human welfare.

Tradition, prejudice, and precedent should not prevent experimentation of this kind. The open mind, readiness to take up new ideas, the broadening of opinion, are essentially desirable for human progress. In 1776, when thirteen little American republics agreed to federate their fortunes, and to establish a commonwealth of free states, it was a new movement, born of idealism and a sturdy spirit of democracy. It was a great experiment, and it has succeeded to such a degree that France, Germany, Austria, Russia, China, and several other countries, have become republics on this model or something akin to it. The United States has several times revised its original constitution, in order to bring it into harmony with the present needs of its people, and the new spirit of the times. Some day it will incorporate these amendments into a new constitution of a truly modern type, thus securing a genuinely democratic republic, a democracy, of, for, and by the people. Thomas Jefferson said that each generation should determine its own form of government, devise its own organic law. And Abraham Lincoln, speaking as a member of the House of Representatives, in 1848, said:

> Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, and most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.

In 1861, in his first inaugural address, Lincoln again said:

> This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it.

There is need that all peoples shall come into close communication with each other, that each people shall come into full acquaintance with all other peoples, lose their prejudices of race, live together in cordial fellowship, mutually aiding each other. If their governments are different, their theories of nationality divergent, these should not stand in the way of their cordial relations.

Quick communication with each other by steamship, railroad, telegraph, and airship is greatly to be desired for all peoples. The races and nations have grown up in isolation; and only communication with all mankind will liberate them, and develop a common international life. Even imperialism has its uses in bringing remote peoples into touch with the broader and universal human movements. The great service of H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," has been in showing that there has been one developing movement throughout all the ages of mankind. There have been many counter-currents, many recedings of the onward progress—but, on the whole, human history has been a continuous process, still in the full swing of its advance to higher and wiser and more comprehensive issues for mankind.

Division lines of language, creed, race, national boundaries, monetary systems, tariffs, and antagonisms of many kinds, greatly hinder free communication between peoples and their friendly relations with each other. Lack of knowledge of other peoples, and of kindly sympathy with them, makes for misunderstandings, jealousies, and prejudices, as well as the ultimate hatreds which culminate in war. A universal language, if that is a possibility, would greatly promote fellowship and understanding, growth of recognition that all peoples are of one blood on all the face of the earth, and that there should be between them a genuine internationalism.

Any kind of league, conference, method of arbitration and reconciliation, which will promote international co-operation or federation between the nations is greatly to be desired, with the hope that such method of fellowship will lessen friction, increase friendly communication, enlarge free exchange of commodities of all kinds, and give a larger knowledge of the history, institutions, and merits of the other peoples of the world. Such methods of communication and fellowship will advance the more truly human interests of all peoples, and help to lessen misunderstandings and wars. We may be confident that such a union of the peoples of the world in knowledge and appre-

ciation of each other, on a basis that will be conducive to the interests of all mankind, will be secured in the future—and just as soon as the several peoples desire to co-operate with each other for mutual benefit, and not for the exploitation of the others. If the present movements in this direction seem slow and difficult, and perhaps impossible of accomplishment, we may with confidence, nevertheless, anticipate a coming federation of all nations in one great commonwealth of mankind. This result may come to realization only in a seemingly distant future; and yet it is at the heart of all the better and more hopeful movements of our own day. Democracy, the higher ethics, religion, the hope at the heart of all good men and women, point to that high consummation. Class antagonism will in time disappear, imperialism will cease to exist, national hatreds will give way to associated effort, and war will disappear as a cause of hatred and murder. These will come in what may be a somewhat distant future; but that they will untimately arrive we may be confident.

The ethical and the religious systems of the world have been provincial and antagonistic because they have been developed in isolation, remote from each other, products of local conditions, and class demands. Even the greater religions show these limitations. They are historical, and not universal, in their origin and growth.

In the future it is probable that some one religion will forget its provincial origin, and become as broad in its outlook and sympathies as the whole of humanity; or a new religion will develop out of the sympathies and the common elements in all the greater religions. The need is for one religion of all mankind, based on science and a cosmopolitan ethics, that will throw off dogmatic creeds, tribal and national rituals and symbols, and expand to the limits of humanity. The truth must be cosmic in its nature, universal, for all peoples, capable of inspiring all who live with higher ideals and to practice a nobler conduct. What divides men from each other, what promotes antagonisms, what breeds conflicts, cannot be promotive of a genuine ethics or conducive to the promotion of a true religion.

Religion is not synonymous with what was done or said in India, Persia, Judea, Arabia, Greece or Rome. It is product of cosmic reality, that reason and love which underlie all nature and experience; and its inward peace and its eternal glory are to be found in the promotion of human welfare, the giving of courage and faith to the mind and heart of all men of every kindred and nation. Its revelation is new every day, and yet one with the whole process of man's evolution and forward-reaching through the ages. Where there is love, justice, truth, beauty, and freedom, there is religion that makes not afraid, but heartens and uplifts the purposes of men. Many a son and daughter of God has spoken to the world to make their fellows just and true; and such as they continue to speak, that we may go forward a little way on the path that leads to fidelity and loyalty.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

The Celebration of the Birth of Walt Whitman

For the last seventeen years without a break yearly in Chicago people have gathered together on the 31st of May to celebrate the birth of Walt Whitman. In New York a group commemorated Whitman yearly some years before and I believe have met regularly since. In Toronto, Canada, in Peoria, Ill., and other cities groups have met on the 31st of May to renew their faith in Love, Comradeship and Justice. The late Horace Traubel who was one of the literary executors of Walt Whitman, once wrote to the undersigned that he wished a celebration of the birth of Walt Whitman would be given and all reference to Whitman be omitted. He would have this done because he had observed eloquent speakers who could quote Whitman most acceptably and afterward speak of the damned Sheeneys, the damned Huns, the damned Dagoes, the damned Chinks, the damned Niggers, and other races and nations in this most affectionate and endearing manner (?).

People of this sort, no matter how intellectual or cultured, cannot represent Whitman. For this reason Traubel would have gatherings of those who wish to meet others at least once a year to imply even if not utter a desire to bring about universal brotherhood.

The Walt Whitman Fellowship is not organized. You are as much a member as those who attend. No institution is desired except the institution of the "dear love of comrades." No funds are needed or wanted. All we want is you. This sort of doctrine is understandable. Rich and poor, learned and unlearned. The powerful and the weak need no other bond. It is fundamental and elemental. No arguments and no pledges.

The meeting place for the Chicago gathering is ideal. The Abraham Lincoln Centre represents three great universal spirits, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman. This year the meeting was a huge success. The dinner capacity was more than reached. Overflow had to be accommodated at a neighborhood dining place. For the celebration the large dining room was completely crowded. The best test was the interest shown. Folks gathered before 6 P. M., and stayed until 11.30 P. M., and would have remained longer if meeting had been prolonged. Good natured badinage was indulged in, criticisms of institutions, customs and people, and of one another was in evidence, but always with the underlying current of constructive helpfulness. As ex-President Wilson said: "If I can meet a man or men around a table face to face, differences can be ironed out more easily." May we meet next year with renewed faith in Love, Comradeship and Justice.

MORRIS LYCHENHEIM.

Not alone, not alone would I go
to my rest, in the heart of the love;
Were I tranced in the innermost
beauty, the flame of its tenderest breath
I would still hear the cry of the
fallen, recalling me back from above,
To go down to the side of the people
who weep in the shadow of death.

—*A.E.*

Walt Whitman, the Poet

(An Appreciation by a Hindu.)

One of the greatest living poets of the world, if not the greatest poet of the age, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, speaking of poetry and art has remarked in the following way:

Poetry and the arts cherish in them the profound faith of man in the unity of his being with all existence, the final truth of which is the truth of personality. It is a religion directly apprehended and not a system of metaphysics to be analysed and argued. . . . To a poet beauty is no phantasy, it has the everlasting meaning of reality. The facts that cause despondence and gloom are mere mist, and when through the mist beauty breaks out in momentary gleams, we realize that Peace is true and not conflict, Love is true and not hatred; and Truth is the One, not the disjointed multitude. We realize that Creation is the perpetual harmony between the infinite ideal of perfection and the eternal continuity of its realization; that so long as there is no absolute separation between the positive ideal and the material obstacle to its attainment, we need not be afraid of suffering and loss. This is the poet's religion.

Whitman, the poet, realized the creative unity of personality and the Infinite and so he sang in his poem "Passage To India":

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Greater than stars or suns,
Bounding, O soul, thou journeyest forth;
—What love than thine and ours could wider amplify?
What aspirations, wishes, outvie thine and ours O soul?
What dreams of the ideal? what plans of purity, perfection, strength?
What cheerful willingness, for others' sake to give up all?
For others' sake to suffer all?
. . . . . .

To Whitman's eyes there was no high and low and he shows his feeling of universality of love in his poem "To a Common Prostitute":

Be composed—be at ease with me—I am Walt Whitman, liberal and lusty as Nature;
Not till the sun excludes you do I exclude you;
Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you, and the leaves to rustle for you, do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you.
. . . . . .

As a believer of immortality Walt Whitman proclaims the message with vigor and poetic majesty:

I do not doubt that whatever can possibly happen, anywhere, anytime, is provided for, in the inherence of things;
I do not think life provides for all, and for Time and Space—but I believe Heavenly Death provides for all.

As an upholder of universal toleration Walt Whitman sings "To Him That Was Crucified":

My spirits to yours dear brother;
Do not mind because many, sounding your name, do not understand you,
I do not sound your name, but I understand you,
I specify you with joy O my comrade, to salute you, and to salute those who are with you, before and since—and those to come also,
That we all labor together, transmitting the same charge and succession;
We few, equals indifferent of lands, indifferent of times;
We, enclosers of all continents, all castes—allowers of all theologies,
Compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men,
We walk silent among disputes and assertions, but reject not the disputers nor anything that is asserted;
We hear the bawling and din—we are reached at by divisions, jealousies, recriminations on every side.
They close peremptorily upon us to surround us, my comrade,
Yet we walk unheld, free, the whole earth over journeying up and down till we make our ineffaceable mark upon time and the diverse eras,
Till we saturate time, and eras, that the men and women of races, ages to come may prove brethren and lovers, as we are.

Whitman was a citizen of the world and he sang for human brotherhood and world peace; and for a better human race:

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever yet shone upon;
I will make divine magnetic lands,
With the love of comrades
With the life long love of comrades.

Whitman is the poet of the world because he sang for all nationalities and for common humanity.

TARAKNATH DAS.

A Prayer

O Thou, the unseen and infinite Giver of Life! May all the chambers of our minds be open today to see and interpret every sight, and the motions of sound, and every fragrance and impression, flowing in from the realm of beauty and grandeur, wonder and mystery. May we find joy in sunshine and flowers, and companionship in the fields and forests and mountains, and inspiration everywhere to be glad and to live and grow as children of an eternal order and unity. May we find rest also and no fear when darkness falls.

May we understand the amazing march of life from its low beginnings with creeping things, upward to the heights of sons of God, sharers in the creative Will.

May we not fail to know the drama of the Victorious Goodness, the Power making ever for righteousness, possessing men in all ages, pressing upon them, carving into their faces the lines of courage and courtesy, creating in them clean hearts, harvesting innumerable deeds of mercy and helpfulness, teaching them to love truth better than life, making them undaunted and sincere, worthy to inherit the earth. May our minds, unsullied by envy or jealousy, take delight in the stories of generous men and noble women. May our hearts thrill with zest likewise to be true, sane, whole, gladsome, radiant, overflowing with life. May we never doubt or hesitate to pay full cost for the things that endure.

May we be moved with honest dread of the approach of insidious pride, or selfish greed and lust, of all meanness and hate, of insincerity and falsehood, of the will to do cruel deeds or to speak unkind words, of uttering harsh and narrow judgments, of all inhumanity and injustice, of disloyalty to our faith or our love. May we be good friends, helpful neighbors, faithful citizens, true lovers of men, patient to all.

May we be open at all times to the motion of the good will, flowing as if from on high, attuning our wills to the music of heaven, unresting, unafraid, joyous, triumphant, gentle to children, pitiful to the weak and inconstant, linking our lives anew with good men everywhere—one happy commonwealth, one vast brotherhood of all mankind, pledged to a single purpose—the welfare of all, the divine plan of the Universe.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

CIVIL LIBERTY.

From a Statement Defining the Position of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Issues in the United States Today.

We stand on the general principle that all thought on matters of public concern should be freely expressed without interference. Orderly social progress is promoted by unrestricted freedom of opinion. The punishment of mere opinion, without overt acts, is never in the interest of orderly progress. Suppression of opinion makes for violence and bloodshed.

The principle of freedom of speech, press and assemblage, embodied in our constitutional law, must be reasserted in its application to American conditions today. That application must deal with various methods now used to repress new ideas and democratic movements. The following paragraphs cover the most significant of the tactics of repression in the United States today.

1. Free Speech.

There should be no control whatever in advance over what any person may say. The right to meet and to speak freely without permit should be unquestioned.

* * *

2. Free Press.

There should be no censorship over the mails by the post-office or any other agency at any time or in any way. Privacy of communication should be inviolate. Printed matter should never be subject to a political censorship. The granting or revoking of second class mailing privileges should have nothing whatever to do with a paper's opinions and policies.

If libelous, fraudulent, or other illegal matter is being circulated, it should be seized by proper warrant through the prosecuting authorities, not by the post-office department.

* * *

3. Freedom of Assemblage.

Meetings in public places, parades and processions should be freely permitted, the only reasonable regulation being the advance notification to the police of time and place.

* * *

4. The Right to Strike.

The right of workers to organize in organizations of their own choosing, and to strike, should never be infringed by law.

Compulsory arbitration is to be condemned not only because it destroys the workers' right to strike, but because it lays emphasis on one set of obligations alone, those of workers to society.

5. Law Enforcement.

The practice of deputizing privately paid police as general police officers should be opposed. So should the attempts of private company employes to police the streets or property other than that of the company.

The efforts of private associations to take into their own hands the enforcement of law should be opposed at every point. Public officials, employes of private corporations, and leaders of mobs, who interfere with the exercise of the constitutionally established rights of free speech and free assembly, should be vigorously proceeded against.

The sending of troops into areas of industrial conflict to maintain law and order almost inevitably results in the government taking sides in an industrial conflict in behalf of the employer. The presence of troops, whether or not martial law is declared, very rarely affects the employer adversely, but it usually results in the complete denial of civil rights to the workers.

6. Search and Seizure.

It is the custom of certain federal, state and city officials, particularly in cases involving civil liberty, to make arrests without warrant, to enter upon private property, and to seize papers and literature without legal process. Such practices should be contested. Officials so violating constitutional guarantees should be proceeded against.

7. The Right to a Fair Trial.

Every person charged with an offense should have the fullest opportunity for a fair trial, for securing counsel and bail in a reasonable sum. In the case of a poor person, special aid should be organized to secure a fair trial, and when necessary, an appeal. The legal profession should be alert to defend cases involving civil liberty. The resolutions of various associations of lawyers against taking cases of radicals are wholly against the traditions of American liberty.

8. Immigration, Deportation and Passports.

No person should be refused admission to the United States on the ground of holding objectionable opinions. The present restrictions against radicals of various beliefs is wholly opposed to our tradition of political asylum.

No alien should be deported merely for the expression of opinion or for membership in a radical or revolutionary organization. This is as un-American a practice as the prosecution of citizens for expression of opinion.

The attempt to revoke naturalization papers in order to declare a citizen an alien subject to deportation is a perversion of a law which was intended to cover only cases of fraud.

Citizenship papers should not be refused to any alien because of the expression of radical views, or activities in the cause of labor.

The granting of passports to or from the United States should not be dependent merely upon the opinions of citizens or membership in radical or labor organizations.

9. Liberty in Education.

The attempts to maintain a uniform orthodox opinion among teachers should be opposed. The attempts of educational authorities to inject into public school and college instruction propaganda in the interest of any particular theory of society to the exclusion of others should be opposed.

10. Race Equality.

Every attempt to discriminate between races in the application of all principles of civil liberty here set forth should be opposed.

HOW TO GET CIVIL LIBERTY.

We realize that these standards of civil liberty cannot be attained as abstract principles or as constitutional guarantees. Economic or political power is necessary to assert and maintain all "rights." In the midst of any conflict they are not granted by the side holding the economic and political power, except as they may be forced by the strength of the opposition. However, the mere public assertion of the principle of freedom of opinion in the words or deeds of individuals or weak minorities, helps win it recognition, and in the long run makes for tolerance and against resort to violence.

Today the organized movements of labor and of the farmers are waging the chief fight for civil lberty throughout the United States as part of their effort for increased control of industry. Publicity, demonstrations, political activities and legal aid are organized nationally and locally. Only by such an aggressive policy of insistence can rights be secured and maintained. The union of organized labor, the farmers, radical and liberal movements is the most effective means to this.

It is these forces which the American Civil Liberties Union serves in their

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efforts for civil liberty. The practical work of free speech demonstrations, publicity and legal defense is done primarily in the struggles of the organized labor and farmers' movements.

It should be the policy of all organizations interested in civil liberty to

(1) Defend every attack on the rights here set forth by legal aid, publicity and letters of protest to editors and officials.

(2) Proceed against every public officer violating those rights.

(3) Test every ordinance or state law in conflict with constitutional guarantees of civil liberty.

(4) Organize protests, demonstrations and publicity on every significant issue.

Help for freedom of opinion can also be rendered through organizing open forums, radical book shops and lecture courses, and in the development of the papers controlled by labor and the farmers.

Throughout the United States we are in constant need of speakers, writers, investigators, lawyers and correspondents who will volunteer their help for civil liberty in whatever cause it may be challenged or denied.

Those desiring to serve write to the Civil Liberties Union. Membership is open to any citizen at one dollar a year. The American Civil Liberties Union needs every dollar it can get to spread this gospel, and make its fight effective.

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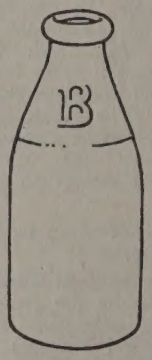

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